

# Peace News

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## A SPOKESMAN OF DANGEROUS INDIVIDUALS

By Peter R. Bell, MA, FLS

Lecturer in Botany, University College London  
VISCOUNT CHERWELL, war-time personal assistant to Sir Winston Churchill and a "professional physicist" attacked the campaign against the British H-test when he spoke in the House of Lords on May 8. He considered that Dr. Schweitzer and the Pope, had allowed themselves to be taken in "by the inaccurate propaganda of the friends of Russia."

"I am surprised," he said, "that men in high positions without scientific knowledge or exact information should issue appeals on scientific questions on which they are not competent to judge."

If a biologist, no matter how eminent, made pronouncements with every show of authority about the detailed structure of atoms, he would justifiably be regarded with some scorn by physicists. This does not deter Lord Cherwell, whose speciality might be described as Engineering Physics, from posing as one qualified to assess the biological dangers of radiation.

Indeed, the very assurance with which he belittled these dangers in his notorious speech in the House of Lords, so different from the cautious and tentative conclusions which were drawn in the report of the Medical Research Council's Committee, indicates the absence of any firsthand knowledge of the problems involved.

### Dangerous

What is alarming is that the Government, containing no scientists, is likely to value his pronouncements in scientific fields where his lack of training and knowledge render them worthless.

Most physicists directly concerned with nuclear research are only too anxious to learn from the biologist the possible effects of radioactivity, but there is a clear threat that the Government's policy in respect of weapons will be influenced in the main by engineers and physicists whose main interest is the verification of calculations and whose understanding of and respect for biology is negligible.

Lord Cherwell appears to have made himself the spokesman of these dangerous individuals.

### Embarrassment

Pleasantries about luminous watches may entertain the students of Christ Church (where talent in biological science is not conspicuous), but they are out of place in a serious discussion of nuclear warfare.

The public will prefer to listen to biologists whose scientific objectivity is above question, rather than Lord Cherwell, who beside his scientific limitations, offers the House of Lords an admixture of technicalities and political prejudice.

Even in his own field, confidence in the

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The Australian Labour Party has recently expressed its belief that the present policies of the French Government in Algeria, the USSR Government in Hungary and the British Government in Cyprus are contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter, and that self-determination for peoples capable of self-government is their right. It welcomes in contrast the creation of the new Dominion of Ghana.

# The alternative to the H-bomb UNARMED DEFENCE Investigate King-Hall's idea

—Barbara Wootton

PROFESSOR BARBARA WOOTTON, Fenner Brockway, MP, Frank Allaun, MP, Anthony Greenwood, MP, and Commander Fox-Pitt, are among the leading British personalities who have in the last week endorsed Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's call for a serious investigation of the practicality of a new British national defence policy based on reliance on unarmed resistance.

Professor Barbara Wootton, one of the leading British thinkers, writing on page 5, calls Commander King-Hall's proposal "a most significant event."

### Growing evidence

Hailing "the fact that a Royal Commission on non-violent resistance has been suggested in responsible quarters," she points out that the history of reform "supports the view that what is ridiculous in one generation, is practical political controversy in the next, and may be realised in the third."

The second and third steps have now "become immensely more likely," she declares, pointing to the "growing body of evidence that organised . . . non-violence has always carried the day where it has been persistently tried."

Non-pacifist Frank Allaun, MP, also writing on page 5, calls Commander King-Hall's statement "the most remarkable, most important, most brilliant, thing

I've read for a long time."

Scores of MPs are being forced by events, he writes, to the view that violence can achieve nothing, and that a few "have already discussed King-Hall's statement with admiration."

### "Timely and justified"

Stuart Morris, Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, describes the proposals as "of great significance" on page 5, calling the demand "for a full and impartial examination of a fully pacifist policy" both "timely and justified."

He emphasises the need for "a new moral approach" by the British people "which would completely change their own attitude and the whole international situation."

Anthony Greenwood, MP, told Peace News that Commander King-Hall's proposal was "an excellent idea."

Joining the debate on the proposal next week in Peace News is Lord Altrincham, prominent Conservative spokesman in the House of Lords and Editor of the National and English Review, arguing against Commander King-Hall's proposal. Reginald Thompson, former Daily Telegraph war correspondent and author of "Cry Korea" and Fenner Brockway, MP, both non-pacifists, will write in favour of the call for serious consideration of a national defence policy of unarmed resistance.

Commander King-Hall's article was reproduced in full in last week's Peace News, copies of which are still available.

### HAROLD STEELE OFF AGAIN TODAY

HAROLD STEELE is expected to leave New Delhi today, Friday, for either Tokio or Fiji en route to the Pacific H-test area.

The Emergency Committee for Direct Action against Nuclear War, with £5,000 available, are endeavouring to contact boats staying in the H-test area.

Mr. Steele finally received his visa for Japan on May 3 after some delay. On April 26 Acting Japanese Consul-General in London, Mr. Ryozo Sunobe, wrote to Mr. Steele that his application for a visa had "been carefully studied by the Japanese authorities concerned, and I am to state that the Japanese authorities are prepared to grant a visa only on your assurance that

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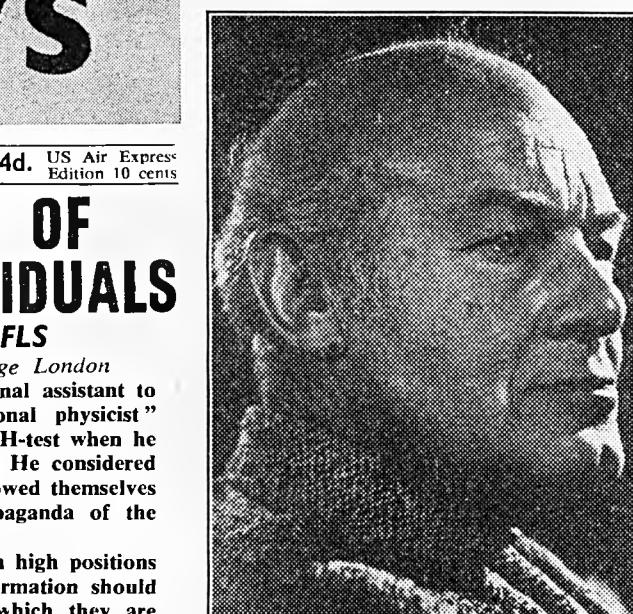


Photo: KARSH of Ottawa.  
Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall

## H-tests: "the public can stop this immorality"

—MRS SHEILA JONES

THERE is still some time left before the word is given for the first British H-bomb test to take place.

**The public can stop this immorality.**

**There IS something we can do.**

**It has to be done NOW.**

This is the message of Mrs. Sheila Jones, Secretary of the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests\*, whom I interviewed on Monday.

Just as a strong show of public disapproval with the Government's policy over Suez was instrumental in stopping war there, so would sufficient public opinion against the tests succeed in preventing them, believes Mrs. Jones.

\*29 Gt. James St., London, W.C.1.

"I think there is still a chance that the British Government will abandon the tests," she told Peace News on Monday.

"People can use the new film, 'Shadow of Hiroshima.' That is a good beginning and can be followed up by protest meetings, letters to local and the national Press, to the Prime Minister and MPs—and to wives of MPs.

"There are several petitions. We do not have one of our own, but our ideas are

By Mavis James

similar to those expressed in the petition drawn up by the Fellowship Party. The Liberal Party is also running a petition.

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On the plinth of Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square last Sunday at the Stop the H-test meeting: Dr. Edith Summerskill, Mrs. L. John Collins (standing), Vera Brittain (seated), Sheila Steele at microphone and Mrs. Sheila Jones (standing).  
More pictures and report on page 6.

**"We do not recognise the Lyttelton Constitution"**

# THE KENYA QUESTION

**By the Hon.  
Tom Mboya**

*Member of the Kenya Legislative Council*

PRIOR to the date of African elections in March, this year, many people busied themselves with questions relating to the Africans' lack of enthusiasm during the registration, but only a few people went further to think of the significance of these elections and in particular what significance the results would have on the constitution of the country.

That this was the most urgent question should have been apparent because the Lyttelton plan—the present constitution—is conceived on the principle of multi-racialism and thus requires the participation and support of members of all races to be deemed workable.

The speeches of the thirty-seven African candidates left no doubts as to what was to be expected. In all, but for matters of detail, the African candidates condemned the Lyttelton Plan and promised either to secure modification or totally refuse to participate in it if returned to the legislature.

All African candidates stood as individuals in view of the non-existence of political parties. This aspect gave false hopes to some people among the Europeans and the Kenya Government.

### **More African representation**

They argued that it would be difficult for people thus elected to stand together as a united team. Some hoped that tribalism would be such a strong factor in the elections that some of the strong opponents of the plan would never get returned. Others, and this included some sections of the Press, reasoned that the Ministerial Salary (£3,500 p.a.) would in itself solve the issue no matter who was elected!

Anyone who knew the African or who had sufficiently studied Kenya politics could not have failed to see that these arguments and hopes were in fact false and mainly the product of wishful thinking.

The facts today are, that tribalism did not prove as dominating a factor as many people had thought; six of the eight former members, including the former African Minister, have been defeated and the team of the first eight African elected members have formed themselves into a united, organised opposition to the Lyttelton Plan.

The eight African elected members have declared the Lyttelton Constitution null and void, they have refused to participate in the Government under the plan and have asked for increased African representation—from eight to twenty-three.

The African Members, in their letter to the Governor on March 18, 1957, made known their reasons for demanding an increase of fifteen more members as follows:

"Our decision is based on the need for effective and relatively adequate representation for the African Community. We have taken into consideration such factors as the areas covered; the population to be represented; the nature of the problems to be dealt with; the mode of communication and the contribution of the African to this country's general economic well-being."

### **Not black domination**

The following assurance is also given in the letter:

"We have as our ultimate objective the development in this country of a society and government where all regardless of race or colour have equal rights and opportunities. Thus we want to assure you and all other racial groups that our move is not motivated by any desire towards black domination. We regret that the circumstances and situation in which we live make it impossible for us to speak on terms other than the present."

These two extracts from the letter sent to the Governor should help to remove any misconception or misunderstandings as to our aim and stand. We may be represented as agitators, nationalists, etc., but I believe that our stand is fair and just and our case clear.

We have stated that we do not



**TOM MBOYA**

*Photo by courtesy of TRIBUNE.*

recognise the Lyttelton constitution for two reasons.

Firstly, because our predecessors were nominated by the Governor and during the negotiations which took place, in the heat of the Emergency, with all African political organisations banned, they could not in the least claim to have acted with the knowledge, consent or in consultation with, the people.

### **S. Rhodesian pattern**

Secondly, the said African nominated members did not in fact accept the Plan and as an organisation refused to sign the agreement. The Government's case is that one African accepted the plan and took a Ministerial post and that another accepted a Parliamentary Secretoryship. This to us is no valid argument and does not justify the obvious and apparent desire to overlook or ignore African opinion.

Our fear of the Lyttelton Plan emanates from the conviction that it is leading Kenya rapidly towards responsible Government on the Southern Rhodesia pattern—namely in the hands of the European settler minority—a situation that we would hate and detest and fight against in every way possible.

These are the facts.

We only ask for one thing, and that is that the African be given relatively adequate representation in the legislature. Before this objective is attained we feel we would be at a disadvantage sitting around a table with members of other races discussing a constitution that is in fact aimed at transferring to Kenya some of the powers vested in the British Government.

Our case is fully and unconditionally supported by the Asian elected members and the Indian Congress of Kenya, the Muslim League and the only Arab elected member. The European elected members and the various European settler organisations have chosen to remain silent and give them an even greater say in the Government and the legislature—namely the

### **He speaks for Kenya Africans**

**TOM MBOYA**, Secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour, has risen to prominence as a leading spokesman of the African people of Kenya despite the difficulties of the years of the Emergency. He was educated in Catholic schools in Kenya and became a prominent trade union leader.

In 1956, while still only 26 years of age, he studied trade unionism under a scholarship at Ruskin College, Oxford. On a speaking tour of the United States, sponsored by the American Committee on Africa, he made a good impression on informed Americans, in addition to making radio and television broadcasts.

In his trade union activities he has worked in close association with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

After returning to Kenya he was elected as an African Member of the Legislative Council and has become recognised leader of the eight African representatives in that body.

creation of regional seats consisting of five Europeans, two Africans, two Asians and one Arab.

Our case is indeed a simple one, our reasons are far from rabid nationalism but consist of logical, fair and reasonable arguments. Today there are fourteen European elected members with two corporate members—total sixteen Europeans—eight African elected members, six Asian elected members and one Arab elected member.

### **Legitimate demands**

Our demand, if met, would bring the African members to a total of twenty-three representing 6,000,000 Africans in large, roadless, communicationless, illiterate constituencies. Fourteen European members represent approximately 45,000 Europeans—and there are approximately 200,000 Asians and 25,000 Arabs.

The challenge before the Kenya Government and the British Colonial Secretary is whether they shall ignore the views of the elected representatives of the African people, expressed in an orderly and constitutional manner.

The consequences of such an attitude would be disastrous to the hopes of settlement of our many complex problems in a constitutional and peaceful atmosphere.

After the last four or five years of violence, the Government and the European settlers have now a chance to demonstrate to the African people and the world at large that while they would not tolerate violence, they are willing to listen to the legitimate demands of the Africans if these are presented in a constitutional manner.

It has to be recognised that the eight African members of the legislature are the first batch of elected leaders of the people.

To disregard their views would constitute an affront to the African community.

All of us hope that wiser counsel shall prevail in the current constitutional crisis.

The Peace Pledge Union AGM having approved of the appointment of

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The appointment would be for 12 months in the first instance.

Further particulars from the General Secretary, Dick Sheppard House, 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.I., to whom written applications should be sent.

# WAR RESISTANCE IN NORWAY

By Gene Sharp



**Niels Mathiesen  
Secretary,  
Norwegian  
WRI**

The work of FMK is carried on by volunteers in the homes of the officers. Niels Mathiesen carries on a considerable correspondence dealing with the organisation and enquiries from young men about how to register as conscientious objectors.

## RECONSTRUCTION

That doesn't keep him from considering long range plans, however. When the Norwegian delegates return from the London WRI conference, they will go to the all-Norway conference of Folkereisning mot Krig, to be held July 21-23 on the West coast of Norway near Stavanger.

This summer meeting will elect the organisation's Council for the coming year. The main task of the sessions will be, however, to determine the chief work of the coming year. One of the proposals is that Folkereisning mot Krig undertake some "practical work" of reconstruction.

"But, of course, the main work would always be to help conscientious objectors," Niels Mathiesen said. Between two and a half per cent and four per cent of those liable for induction each year are recognised as conscientious objectors.

The usual all-Scandinavian conference is not being held this year and an effort is being made to achieve good representation at the London conference.

## STEPPING STONE

Niels Mathiesen studied stage designing three years in Vienna. Now back in Oslo he hopes soon to find a position in this field. He joined the WRI in 1955 while he was at the Havnas Civil Workers Camp doing his one and a half years of civil work as an alternative to military training.



A very silly present for a naughty little boy

THE new Secretary for the Norwegian branch of the War Resisters' International, Folkereisning mot Krig, will be among a group of four or five Norwegian delegates at the WRI conference to be held in London on July 15-19.

The new 29-year-old Secretary took over his volunteer duties last July, after serving as Chairman of the Oslo group of Folkereisning mot Krig.

The work of FMK is carried on by volunteers in the homes of the officers. Niels Mathiesen carries on a considerable correspondence dealing with the organisation and enquiries from young men about how to register as conscientious objectors.

He spent half of his time in that camp and worked the remainder of the period with the Norwegian Geographical Institute. Many Norwegian objectors work in forestry.

He hopes that gradually conscientious objectors will be allowed to do work directly meeting human needs, as with refugees, in hospitals, and asylums. This, he felt, could be a stepping stone to young pacifists working out and forming groups to perform non-violent defence of the country.

"The Government men are only used to it being a military defence, but if they could see that it could be another way, I don't think they would object to that," he said.

## NEW LAW

Last year, as FMK prepared to issue a lengthy pamphlet against the Government's plan to narrow the grounds for legal exemption for conscientious objectors to more strictly "religious" convictions, the Government stopped its plans and waited for the pacifists' counter-proposals.

The pamphlet was distributed to Members of Parliament, the newspapers, and the Minister of Justice. As a result, the new law administering COs.

It also contained arguments as to why the kind of work COs do as an alternative should not be so narrowly restricted.

An impressive delegation talked with the Minister of Justice. As a result, the new law has not yet been proposed, although it may be presented "next year."

Pacifist, issued monthly for many years by the Danish section of the WRI, Aldrig mere Krig, has now become the official paper for both Norway and Denmark. There are now between 700 and 800 subscribers in Norway and "we hope for 1,000 by Christmas," Niels Mathiesen said.

"We are very glad that we have this co-operation. It has been very good for us in Norway," he added. "We would like co-operation with Sweden too," he said.

## NPC CONFERENCE

A PROPOSAL by Dr. Hugh Schonfield, at present under favourable consideration by the Israeli Cabinet, that Israel identify herself with the Arab World and seek integration with Jordan proved to be the most constructive suggestion put forward during the National Peace Council's conference at High Leigh from April 12-14 under the title "Ferment in the Middle East."

Other talks proved informative on a situation of turbulence and human suffering.

STALIN'S DEATH MARKED THE END OF AN EPOCH

## Soviet youth in ferment

REPORTING from Moscow in the April 6 issue of The Nation (USA), Ralph Parker writes that there is "indisputable evidence of a considerable ferment among Soviet youth in the post-Twentieth Congress period, of new attitudes towards values hitherto accepted unquestioningly."

The death of Stalin marked an end of an epoch for Soviet youth as for all others. "... despite the disequilibrium it caused in young minds, the Soviet leaders' new policy of speaking frankly about the true state of the nation's economy, their abandonment of empty exhortatory phrases, was proving popular."

Then came Khrushov's denunciation of Stalin's methods at the Twentieth Congress. Describing the effect on Soviet youth, Ralph Parker writes, "People who have seen their god toppled from his pedestal not unnaturally begin to question the tenets of the religion he symbolised."

## WAVE OF IRREVERENCE

"As 1956 proceeded, party ideologists had to busy themselves increasingly with the defence of the system. A wave of irreverence swept over Soviet youth, expressing itself at one end of the scale in scathing political anecdotes, at the other in open questioning of the value, to them, of Marxist-Leninist education and of the Komsomol (Communist League of Youth) itself, the handmaiden of the party.

"... words and slogans that had been well-nigh sacred a few years before" were debunked in student rags during the November holidays. Articles strongly criticising all Soviet art, drama and literature during the past 20 years found "a lively response" among youth.

The Communist Party Presidium meeting in November and December took serious account of "these manifestations of nihilism" and circulated a confidential letter to party members on the subject. "... the Soviet leaders appear to be less perturbed by the restlessness of youth than by the inability of party propagandists to find a language that commands young people's attention," says Mr. Parker.

The letter called for frankness and patience in replying to the questions of the youth and did not deny the right to raise questions.

## INTELLIGENCE INSULTED

Two aspects of the controversial novel, *Not By Bread Alone*, by Vladimir Dudintsev, have particularly stirred Soviet youth. They are "its attack on tightly-knit groups of influential people who, while paying lip-service to the cause of Socialism, are in fact interested only in maintaining themselves in office, and its revelation of the inefficiency and waste caused by this group's ruthless suppression of young talent and bold innovation."

"The present gap between the world they are educated for and the world they live in is an important factor in the mentality of Soviet youth," he writes.

"Hence their impatience, their desire to see 'Socialism given a chance' (as some of them say), their fierce resentment of privilege, their widely expressed feelings that if they were given greater freedom to organise their own leisure activities they could greatly enrich their lives.

"There are other factors, too, in their make-up; many feel resentful that their intelligence was insulted, their youthful enthusiasm abused, their patriotism wrongfully suspected during the Stalin period, and this has put them on their guard against anything which appears to them as a return to the past.

*Footnote:* Ralph Parker has lived in the Soviet Union for many years. In past years he has been the Moscow correspondent of The Times (London), The New York Times, and the Daily Worker (London). Now a contributor to other journals, he is the author of *How Do You Do, Tovarich?*

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## BARE FACTS

SALES of the reprints of Dr. Schweitzer's broadcast are nearing 10,000 copies and should help to cover the £60 charge for the advertisement inserted in the Sunday Observer.

The cost of the two extra pages which carried the full text of Commander Stephen King-Hall's "Reflections on Defence" was met by a Quaker who wanted this full text widely read.

The last three issues of Peace News have completely sold out at around 11,000 copies.



But we are way behind with the amount we need to subsidise the production of Peace News. We should have raised £1,500 by the end of this month. We are £1,000 behind.

This is serious and cannot fail ultimately to cripple our work.

We need an immediate response to this appeal.

If any organisation to which you belong wants to help forward the educational work which Peace News is doing today, ask that it make a contribution to the cost of our work. To our friends everywhere we make this urgent appeal: Make a donation to Peace News part of your campaign against the H-bomb and every other form of violence.

THE EDITOR.

We need

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## Nuclear weapons for Japan?

THE rapidly changing attitudes in both Japan and Germany with regard to arms in general, and particularly in relation to nuclear weapons, should be recognised as the clearest indication possible of the "Gadarene swine" speed with which the world is approaching the abyss.

At the end of the war it was generally agreed, not only by the victors, but by the Japanese and German people themselves that it would be better that they should renounce the use of arms, and in one form or another this resolve was embodied in the Japanese and German constitutions.

In the cold war atmosphere that followed there has been no need for the militarist elements in the Governments of these two nations to seek, as in Germany after World War I, means of evading the restrictions accepted at the conclusion of hostilities. The initial pressures toward rearmament have all come from outside: from the US where Japan is concerned, and from the NATO Powers in regard to Germany; and the post-war reluctance of the Japanese and German peoples has had to be overcome by these outside pressures.

### Constitution

WITH the development of nuclear weapons the situation is changing, and it is now the Japanese and German Governments that are seeking to take this kind of initiative. In the case of Japan, where there had been a very thorough-going constitutional rejection of arms, the constitutional prohibitions have been evaded by a childishly transparent differentiation between being armed and being prepared for defence.

The Japanese Government has until recently held that nuclear weapons of any kind were clearly of an offensive character and that their adoption by Japan would be a plain violation of the constitution. Now the Japanese Prime Minister has sent up his first kite in order to test how the adoption of atomic weapons by Japan will be received—both by the Japanese people and by the other Powers.

It is not atomic or Hydrogen bombs that are being considered, he says, but tactical nuclear weapons which may be regarded as "defensive" and thus permissible under the constitution. The Japanese defence forces, he announces, are already carrying out research on guided missiles, but these are not necessarily related to the use of nuclear weapons.

### H-bomb policy

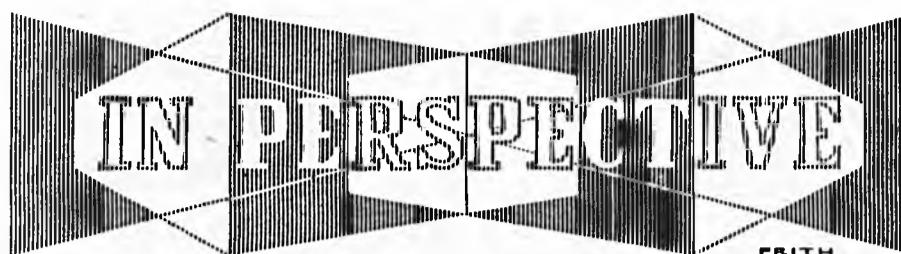
WHEN the Japanese Government has secured its "tactical" atomic weapons and its guided missiles for their better "delivery," the next stage will, of course, be the adoption by Japan of an A-bomb and H-bomb policy; and the Japanese Government will have no more difficulty than have the US, Russian and British Governments in attaching a "defensive" label to these. They are in fact "defensive" weapons *par excellence* because they are only for "deterrence" and not for use.

Even if, as we hope, an early end is brought to the H-tests that are being made by the US and Russian Governments and are projected by the British Government, there can be little reason to assume that this by itself will have disposed of the question of these tests for ever. Even if there is an agreement that they shall be banned it will not finally settle that the nations that are not equipped with these things shall never make and test them.

What we shall see will be a period of bargaining in which the more powerful, un-equipped nations will demand supplies from the stocks of those so equipped as the price for foregoing their own tests. And if it comes to the point, Japan has certainly as good a claim to use the Pacific Ocean for this purpose as have the US and Britain.

### Germany too

AS with Japan, it is quite evident that there is only one thing that can prevent Germany from equipping herself with the H-bomb and that is the development of a policy of unarmed neutrality.



FRITH

This is the course that offers the greatest prospect of a future for the German people, but it is evident that it will not be followed by a Government of Christian Democrats with Dr. Adenauer or somebody who thinks like him at its head; and unless the Social Democrats are prepared to face the logic of the international situation with much greater steadiness than they seem at present to be capable of, a West Germany governed by Social Democrats will also at last inevitably reach an H-bomb policy.

Dr. Adenauer has declared for the equipment of West Germany with atomic arms and has remarked that it will not be possible for ever to keep the German Government without the H-bomb if other

governments are to have it.

This view is now being played down, because the Social Democrats are making political capital by challenging him on the matter and the West German elections are to take place in four months from now (September 15). When the elections are over, however, the question will quickly arise again whether Dr. Adenauer's coalition or the Social Democrats are the victors, and (unless, we repeat, being the victors the Social Democrats pursue a policy of unarmed neutrality) we shall see an increasing demand that West Germany shall be equipped with the H-bomb.

The basis of the German claim will be precisely the same as that for the British

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## NEW IMPORTANCE OF PACIFISM

MR. KHRUSHCHOV remarked in an interview in the New York Times last Saturday that "perhaps the only way to avoid total war was for the United States and the Soviet Union to find a mode of agreement."

At present it seems superficially rather remote that these two dominating giants will develop a friendly understanding. But it does not require much thought to realise that war is ultimately inevitable unless some kind of an understanding is reached between them.

In the present international tension, said Mr. Khrushchov, the heart of the matter is relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. Either an intensified cold war will inevitably lead to open war, or there will be improved relationships leading ultimately to a formal or informal working understanding.

Improved relations between the USSR and the USA is, therefore, something for which mankind hopes.

We ought to consider the best means to bring about such improved relations, and the kind of world which will be offered to mankind if peace is finally established.

This consideration and thought is necessary if we are to see clearly how in such a world it will be possible to maintain individual liberty, the moral responsibility of men, the protection of local cultures and the ability to resist tyranny.



A ROUGH outline of what we must expect if the USSR and the USA come together—and thus bring about peaceful relations—was provided by Mr. Khrushchov in this interview.

The United Nations, he said, is not important at present, because it is dominated by the United States. It could, however, be useful in securing peace, he continued, when this was changed to the two giant powers acting together.

At the same time that we reaffirm that in the situation as it is the world is doomed unless these two giants come to co-operate, we see a grave menace in the provision of this type of peaceful world.

The coming together of the USSR and the USA will present mankind with stupendous new problems—especially in maintaining human liberty—which require solutions.

The USSR-USA agreement Mr. Khrushchov wants could lead to a joint USSR-USA domination of the United Nations, meaning the beginning of a type of world government with world centralised control brought about—not by the common enfranchisement of mankind—but by imposition by the combination of the two greatest concentrations of industrial and military power.

Mr. Khrushchov said that any European settlement resulting from improved Russian-American relations should be followed by the setting up of a body dominated by the USSR and the USA.

We may be thus offered release from the threat of wholesale extermination in war at the cost of such a concentration of power as will bring with it the menace of a new world tyranny.



IT is the pacifist who has the key to the problems of this new situation.

It makes a considerable difference whether the improved USSR-USA relations result from the decision of a relative handful of men interested in power in each country, or are produced by pressure from the growth in number and determination of "uncommitted" countries, and by a ground-swell of public pressure for peace throughout the world. The latter is much to be preferred, because it contributes to the diffusion of power.

But if stable peace does come through a concentration of material might constituting a world oligarchy, its tyrannical potentialities cannot be checked if they are met only by material power.

Human liberties and values will have to be safeguarded by the resolve of mankind not to be overawed by might: the non-violent assertion of the will to resist against the effort of concentrated power to subjugate the individual.

The true policy for the defence of a free world menaced today by such power is twofold: the development among men and women of an understanding of the power of resolute non-violent resistance, and a frontal attack on the psychology of power politics by nations abandoning reliance on arms which, unless renounced, will ultimately ensnare them.

claim, which is that the Communist bloc may be tempted to gamble on the calculation that the US will not use the H-bomb unless she is herself directly attacked and that (particularly when inter-continental ballistic missiles are available) she will not invite her own obliteration by bringing the thermonuclear weapon into play to save a European people from subjugation.

This is the basis of the British Government's claim that it must have the H-bomb; and the same assumptions that Britain is applying to possible Communist bloc calculations in regard to America, West Germany is entitled to apply with even more force to such calculations in respect of both the US and Britain. The German case is quite as sound in this regard as that of Britain, while the German industrial power for the support of such a policy is greater.

After Japan and Germany, of course, will come France and Italy; and so on and so on—until there will come a time (if the great explosion has not foisted off) when we shall have the H-bomb in the hands of the Government of Saudi Arabia.

### Their reward

THOSE who looked in at the Associated TV News on Sunday were rewarded with a glimpse of the H-bomb march through London.

The march received a good Press as well as a mention in the BBC's 9 pm news bulletin. Such publicity—not usually forthcoming for marches and rallies—was a fitting tribute to the determination of the black-sash women not to be beaten by the torrential rain.

I'm told that while the half-mile long procession was being assembled many of the women were standing in the deep puddles and streams of water which inevitably collect in the wide areas of paving in parks and public squares.

### Unheeded warning

AMONG the hundreds of letters which have come to the Emergency Committee for Direct Action against Nuclear War, bringing support for those attempting to get out to the Pacific H-test area, was one from the daughter of Dr. Ralph Copeland, Astronomer Royal for Scotland from 1888 until his death in 1905. She writes:

"He discovered something important in connection with helium, which distressed him greatly. At the time nobody would take his deductions seriously. Not long before he died he told me 'because I understood' that I should live and see reproduced in a small scale on earth, artificially, the explosions he had so long observed in the sun . . . the prospect darkened his last years."

### He knew a war resister too

LAST week, with J. Allen Skinner I went to see a local cinema manager (ex-Guards type, but with a game leg). He wished to run a ballot on the H-bomb test in connection with the showing of the film "Man Afraid."

MANAGER: I see you've a stiff leg too!

JAS.: Yes. What was the cause of yours?

MANAGER: A wound . . . Black Watch . . . Eight years a Regular . . .

JAS. (Laughing): I got mine in prison, First World War . . .

ME (in case Manager thinks he's dealing with ex-crook): He was a conscientious objector.

As we were saying goodbye the Manager recalled with obvious pleasure that he had a very good friend who was a CO, "chap the name of Easterford, a Yorkshire man . . ."

Returning home on the bus we ruminated on the vast number of people in Britain who by now have some personal acquaintance with a war resister and inevitably have their thinking influenced as a result.

# Commander Stephen King-Hall's unarmed defence proposal is a MOST SIGNIFICANT EVENT

**Professor Barbara Wootton**

**COMMANDER SIR STEPHEN KING-HALL**'s suggestion of a Royal Commission to explore the potentialities of a fully pacifist policy of resistance to aggression is a most significant event.

Even more than Dr. Bronowski's idea, propounded in the course of a recent BBC Brains Trust, that we should recruit an unarmed army to march between any military combatants anywhere, irrespective of the ostensible issue between them, the King-Hall plan is a sign that passive (better called non-violent) resistance is just creeping over the frontier which divides the cranky from the respectable.

No proposition which is generally regarded as lying on the cranky side of that frontier has the faintest chance of success. So for those who happen to think that on any point the crank's ideas are right, the vital task is that of getting these ideas into the area of respectable discussion.

It is, therefore, the fact of a breach in the ranks of respectable opinion, rather than anything that an actual Commission might do or say, which is the really exciting event.

Indeed, as one who has been a member of three Royal Commissions, I do not rate their efficacy very highly; and I think that their value has diminished in the past half century owing to certain changes in the way in which their members are chosen. Formerly, the aim seems to have been to appoint as Commissioners impartial persons who would listen, in an unprejudiced way to evidence, and report accordingly.

#### ROYAL COMMISSIONS

Recently, however, belief in the existence of such persons appears to have, perhaps justifiably, declined; and, in consequence, in the attempt to achieve impartiality, appointments to Royal Commissions have been carefully chosen to secure a balanced representation of all relevant points of view, if not indeed of all relevant interests.

The results are not happy. Either a Commission produces (like the recent Commission on Divorce) a multiplicity of reports, in which each member expresses the view that he or she already held before appointment; or much time and money is wasted in the search for a verbal formula to which everybody can agree without danger to conscience, but which fails to convey what any single member really wants to say.

#### TURN OF THE TIDE

However, none of this matters so much as the fact that a Royal Commission on non-violent resistance has been suggested in responsible quarters.

Pacifists who think, as I do, that failure to face the realities of the threat of totalitarianism has long been a deplorable weakness in our position may feel that this is something of a reflection upon our own inadequacies. Morally that is undeniable.

But, tactically, in the long run we may have cause to rejoice that the proposal for serious consideration of the possibilities of organised non-violence has come from outside our ranks; for that enormously enhances its prospects of success.

The King-Hall and the Bronowski proposals indicate an astonishingly welcome turn of the tide.

Realistically, I do not think that any Government is likely to take these proposals seriously in the immediate future. But the whole history of reform supports the view that what is ridiculous in one generation (read John Stuart Mill on THE SUBJECTION OF WOMEN!) is practical political controversy in the next, and may be realised in the third.

Now that the first step has been taken, the second and third become immensely more likely.

And in this case we have on our side a growing body of evidence that organised (and organisation is vital: the individual martyr is rarely now more than a passing wonder) non-violence has always carried the day wherever it has been persistently tried.

Even Lord Mountbatten removed his sword when paying his respects at Gandhi's tomb.



**BARBARA WOOTTON**

#### THE WRITERS

**PROFESSOR BARBARA WOOTTON, MA, LHD,** has been Nuffield Research Fellow, Bedford College, University of London since 1952. Regarded as one of the outstanding British thinkers, she has been Professor of Social Studies, University of London, 1948-52; a Governor of the BBC, 1950-56; Member of the Royal Commission on Workmen's Compensation (1938), Royal Commission on the Press (1947) and Royal Commission on the Civil Service (1954); Her publications include LAMENT FOR ECONOMICS, 1938; END SOCIAL INEQUALITY, 1941; FREEDOM UNDER PLANNING, 1945; TESTAMENT FOR SOCIAL SCIENCE, 1950; and THE SOCIAL FOUNDATIONS OF WAGE POLICY, 1955.

**FRANK ALLAUN, MP** (Lab., East Salford since 1955) is a journalist, author and broadcaster. Formerly a correspondent of the Manchester Evening News, and the Daily Herald, he was Editor of Labour's Northern Voice. He was formerly Youth Organiser for the Workers' Educational Association. His publications include A TRADE UNIONIST'S GUIDE TO CAPITALISM, and YOUR TRADE UNION AND YOU. He is not a pacifist.

**STUART MORRIS**, has been Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union for eighteen years and a sponsor since its beginning. A lecturer and broadcaster, he was formerly a Canon in the Church of England before devoting full time to pacifist work. His pamphlets include NEUTRALITY: GERMANY'S WAY TO PEACE, CONSCRIPTING CHRISTIANITY, THE CHURCHES ATTITUDE TO WAR, and he is co-author with Sybil Morrison of IT ISN'T TRUE: SOME POPULAR FALLACIES ABOUT PACIFISM AND WAR. He stood as Pacifist Parliamentary Candidate for King's Norton during World War II.

**Stuart Morris**

THE recent Reflections on Defence by Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall are of great significance. In a previous commentary I suggested that although the Government's White Paper on Defence was more realistic than previous statements, they had not had the courage or wisdom to follow their own argument to its logical conclusion.

Stephen King-Hall has done this and made plain the dilemma in which the new policy puts the Government. His demand for a full and impartial examination of a fully pacifist policy is therefore timely and justified.

I would, however, make two comments. I doubt whether the setting up of a Royal Commission is the best procedure. Experience suggests that a Royal Commission has too often been the means of delaying progress rather than accelerating it, especially where any such drastic change is involved.

#### WORKING PARTY

The alternative suggestion of a special committee of the Imperial Defence College might be preferable, if it was able and willing to shake off the traditional military approach and invite adequate evidence in support of the alternative policy.

But why should not Stephen King-Hall set up his own working party, as the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee recently did? He should be able to secure the co-operation of experts and other eminent persons whose conclusions would carry weight, and such a committee should be able to report more quickly than any Royal Commission.

That would be a new step in the education of "an intelligent and sophisticated population", which is essential perhaps even before Parliament would appoint a Royal Commission and certainly before the country would be willing to accept the new policy.

While such a commission or committee would be capable of expressing an opinion upon "whether our way of life could be defended by passive resistance", I doubt whether it could produce a specific plan, though it would have to consider, for instance, the difference between passive resistance and non-violent resistance and instances where either techniques have been used.

#### REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE

In the field of military strategy some overall plan is necessary, but the basic difference between violent and non-violent resistance may well mean that what is essential for the one is impossible or wrong for the other.

It is more than a question of a choice between two techniques, and the claim that non-violent resistance is a valid alternative to resistance by violence must not be taken to imply that both are within the same category and subject to the same kind of planning.

#### "The Friend"

"THE FRIEND" unofficial British Quaker weekly, commented editorially on May 10, 1957: "We would ask Friends to read this News-Letter for themselves, as many thousands of British citizens will do, remembering that it is written by a man who is trying to find a practical answer to defence against war . . .

"We hope that Friends will study the implications of this suggestion. As Christians believing that mankind must find a way to live peacefully on earth instead of continuing to head towards disaster, we should consider seriously any suggestion that may lead 'towards the creation of a world political temper in which no one has the slightest desire to drop atomic bombs on anyone else.'

"Defence by passive resistance would appear to be a step in this direction. There is certainly a case for a thorough investigation."

While, therefore, it is important to persuade others that unilateral disarmament can be justified on political, economic and strategic grounds, the reliance on non-violent resistance involves the revolutionary change from basing policy on immoral weapons to basing it on moral principles.

Though in the field of calculated risks unilateral disarmament and non-violent resistance are better than reliance on nuclear weapons, it is essential that the acceptance of that policy by our fellow countrymen should depend not on their approval of a detailed plan which offers them more adequate defence, but on their willingness to accept a new moral approach which would completely change their own attitude and the whole international situation.

#### Frank Allaun MP

**COMMANDER SIR STEPHEN KING-HALL**'s statement on defence is the most remarkable, most important, most brilliant, thing I've read for a long time.

In strictly "realist," indeed in purely military, terms, he comes to a pacifist conclusion! With convincing logic he shows that nuclear weapons and conventional weapons are of no value, in fact that all they succeed in doing is to invite a disastrous reprisal.

He produces strong arguments for the British Government's announcing immediately that it will not carry out any future nuclear tests and that the forthcoming tests at Christmas Island will be abandoned.

Then he goes further than this—he expresses his faith that the only alternative is non-violent resistance and urges that: "a Royal Commission should be established with the task of expressing an opinion upon the problem of whether our way of life could be defended by passive resistance and if so what the plan should be."

"I am not saying it would work," he says. "I am saying that no-one has thoroughly studied its possibilities in the light of the novel and unprecedented defence problem which now faces the UK, Western Europe, and, to a lesser extent, the USA."

#### ADMIRATION

His proposal is for a thorough examination "from a strictly political-strategical angle" of the possibility of a "fully pacifist policy" involving defence by non-violent resistance.

Unlike Commander Sir Stephen I'm no expert in matters of tactics and strategy. All I can say is that in his newsletter he has stated in a most masterly manner what I—and probably thousands like me—have been arriving at in a clumsy, inarticulate way.

I can tell you there are scores of my MP friends at Westminster who have never called themselves pacifists, who are being forced by recent events, such as Suez and Hungary, and by new technical developments, such as atom bombs, the H-bomb and guided missiles, to the view that violence can achieve nothing—except mutual destruction. One or two of us have already discussed King-Hall's statement with admiration.

A number of them, I believe, would be ready to back his proposal for a Royal Commission. It will no doubt provoke bitter opposition. But this has been encountered—and survived—by every great new idea in the history of man.

# H-bomb tests: women's protest march



**STOP THE TESTS AND MAKE THIS THE  
“First step in a real disarmament  
campaign”—Vera Brittain**

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

“I CAN’T feel my feet,” was the comment of a white haired lady in the tube after last Sunday’s demonstration.

She had stood in torrential rain in Hyde Park as a procession of 2,000 women was marshalled before setting off for Trafalgar Square, via Park Lane, Piccadilly and the Haymarket.

#### HOUSEWIVES AND MOTHERS

With shoes squelching water before they moved off, the 2,000 marched for fifty minutes through a heavy downpour. A short break in the rain came only as they entered Trafalgar Square, to hear Mrs. L. John Collins, wife of Canon Collins, introducing the first speaker at the open-air meeting being held there.

Mrs. Collins reminded the audience that the meeting was organised by the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests and that the marchers were ordinary women: housewives and mothers, not Communists or fellow travellers, cranks or hysterical people. They wanted the Government to stop the H-bomb tests in the interests of humanity.

She introduced Mrs. Joyce Butler, MP,

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the first speaker, who paused in her opening remarks as more and more marchers began to pack the Square amid cheering and applause.

The hundreds of people already there read the slogans on the posters: “Stop the Tests,” “Save your Child,” “War, We Say No,” “Women Use Your Power.”

There were women with black sashes, some in complete mourning, others carrying a wreath. Some were elderly, some had brought their children in prams, others were teen-age girls. One thing they had in common: their shoes were full of water.

#### A MORAL LEAD

“How glad I am that the women have organised this demonstration,” said Joyce Butler. “Too often we have tended to leave it to the men folk. With the H-bomb responsibility for our homes takes on a new aspect. Women must act.”

Vera Brittain, author and member of Peace News Board, recently returned from a lecture tour in the USA and Canada was the next speaker.

Americans were looking to Britain for a lead. There was a tremendous amount of discussion going on there about the H-bomb. “There is far more opposition to the tests than anyone who is not in touch with the other America realises.”

“Britain has not lost her soul nor her moral authority,” Vera Brittain declared. “I appeal to you with all my strength to give a moral lead to the United States and to the world.”

It was argued that we could not ban the tests until the Russians did so, “but that is merely asking Russia to take the moral leadership which we are afraid to take ourselves.”

We should try to retrieve the reputation for integrity and courage that we lost at the time of the Suez crisis.

“Let’s make this the first step in a real disarmament campaign.”

#### MRS. SHEILA STEELE

Loud and prolonged applause greeted Mrs. Sheila Steele, whose husband had recently flown to India en route for the Pacific in a one-man attempt to stop the British test.

Addressing her first public meeting she said that her husband had gone to the Far East “in the hope that he will be able to shock the conscience of the world by what he sees.”

“We want a world where we can bring up our children safely and happily,” she declared.

Dr. Edith Summerskill, MP, was the last speaker. She said that radiation from the bombs would have the effect of rendering women sterile, and reminded the audience that in times past many medical men and scientists had been ignored when making known the results of new discoveries. People would ignore the warnings of physicists today at their peril.



Top left: Holding the banner as the head of the half-mile long procession comes round the Marble Arch are Mrs. Peggy Darvell (left), a London Quaker, and Mrs. Ianthe Carswell, both members of the Committee of the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests. Behind them are Councillor Mrs. Peggy Duff (black handbag), Organiser, and Mrs. Sheila Jones (black sash), Secretary.

Top and centre: On the march.

Bottom: Some of the poster bearers flank the plinth of Nelson’s Column in Trafalgar Square.

# HAROLD STEELE: WHY I AM GOING TO THE PACIFIC

BEFORE he left for New Delhi last week, Harold Steele told a Press conference in London that he hoped that somewhere in India there would be people with the means and resources which would enable him to go into the Christmas Island area where the British H-test is to take place.

The Press conference, organised by Peace News for the Emergency Committee for Direct Action against Nuclear War, was attended by representatives of the leading international news agencies. Arlo Tatum, Chairman of the Committee was introduced to the conference by the Editor of Peace News.

## Gandhi

Harold Steele, asked why he decided to go to India, replied:

"India owes its existence to Gandhi and his principles and they surely must have an orientation of mind enthusiastically in sympathy with my project."

**Asked whether he would go to Siberia as a protest against the Russian tests he replied :**

"I would be willing to go, but there would be tremendous difficulties."

"I am so thankful that no one has accused me of being a Communist; the other side would be quick to say I was an imperialist."

**Are you satisfied you are not playing into the hands of Communism?**

"The risks of the tests are world-wide—against humanity as a whole. They are contrary to the interest of all mankind."

**But if you stopped our tests while the Russian tests continue, could you possibly defeat your own ends in that way?**

"There are campaigns against releasing smoke and oil sludge into the ocean, and strontium 90 into the atmosphere. We must try to persuade all powers not to release these things. Humankind is much the same all the world over. The Russians are concerned too. I did register a protest at the Soviet Embassy."

The Chairman, Arlo Tatum: "This is the perpetual problem the pacifist faces. It is not confined to the tests. It is always the war machinery of his own country against which he is protesting. As regards the institution of war, what unites the countries is their reliance upon violence, and anything one can do against this reliance on violence is, in the long run, to the advantage of both."

## Sacrifice

Mrs. Sheila Steele: "All mankind are being told by their various Governments why we should have these weapons. When we have listened to all these reasons, humans should remember their humanity and say: 'Well, you have told us all this, but that is not the sort of world we want. We want a world where we can live as a family. You have the know-how. You do it!'"

**What do you think of your husband's journey?**

"Humanly speaking, I am naturally upset at the parting. But we must be prepared to sacrifice as much for this new way as the men who go to war."

Harold Steele: "I have received 300 letters, full of kindness and friendliness of a high quality. This is the kind of world I should like to live in—not the timid, fear-stricken world of today. It is a wonderful world I have looked into, in recent weeks."

**What is your next move, after India?**

"I must make contact with the two lads (Ian Dixon and David Graham) who are prepared to go with me into the area. We shall be an odd party—ages 21, 25 and 63."

"We have aims, rather than plans. They are frightened in the Pacific Islands: they could be strengthened in their protest into the direction of voicing their protest more strongly. It will be something that a White man can apologise to these people that we try out these things in their waters."

**Are you a conscientious objector?**

"Yes, and I was what is known as an absolutist. I did not go before a Tribunal,



At the Press conference, Harold Steele (right) beside his wife (centre), leans over in conversation with Arlo Tatum (left), Chairman of the Emergency Committee and General Secretary of the War Resisters' International.

nor did I register. I maintained my witness against the war at a Public School. Only now do I realise how hard it was to stand aside. I have recently known a good deal of agony of mind because my action involves putting aside my wife and children. But, time after time, in my own life-time, men have said goodbye to others—as soldiers, to fight—risking mutilation, risking death.

"I am upheld by believing that it is long overdue that peace-lovers and pacifists should themselves say goodbye to wife and children, and be prepared for mutilation and death in the cause of achieving the kind of world pacifists desire. I am sur-

prised that I have not seen this call earlier. I have been in all the peace movements, but not with that sense of adventure that the good soldier has in his kind of warfare.

"I am hoping the peacemakers of the world will have that sense of adventure and self-sacrifice, and that idealism in their hearts, which their brothers show when they go to war for what they think are good causes."

## Arrival

Harold Steele left London Air Terminal on Thursday morning last week. James Cameron, of the News Chronicle, and Hugh Brock, representing the Emergency Com-

mittee, were there to see him off.

Robert Stephens, of the Sunday Observer, who travelled out on the plane with Harold Steele, concluded a long report in his paper of the flight as far as Beirut with these words:

"We left Geneva, the home of other peace hopes, and I last saw Mr. Steele at three o'clock next morning as he emerged into the warm, moist Mediterranean darkness of Beirut, tired but tidy to face two Lebanese photographers 2,000 miles farther along the way to his appointment."

Reynolds News published a report of his arrival in New Delhi and a photograph of Harold Steele, Ian Dixon, David Graham.

By FENNER BROCKWAY MP

## The changing Commonwealth

NEXT month the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth will meet in London. Dr. Nkrumah will represent newly-independent Ghana, the first nation to join since India, Pakistan and Ceylon became independent ten years ago. Next year Malaya will become a full-fledged member of the Commonwealth, and within a few years Nigeria and the West Indian Federation.

Have we yet grasped the significance of the changing Commonwealth? A decade ago it represented only White Governments and was known as the British Commonwealth. When India and her two Asian neighbours joined, "British" was dropped. Now there are four Anglo-Saxon Governments, four Asian and African Governments, and South Africa's Afrikaaner Government.

Within five years the Asian, African and Caribbean Governments will number seven against five White Governments. From the point of view of population, the Whites will be one in seven.

Britain and the Anglo-Saxon Dominions are still materially dominant. They are industrialised, they are wealthier, they have armed strength. But as the years pass, India and the new independent Governments will become materially richer and their potential influence in the world is certainly as great as that of the White Governments.

India has already gained an important status not only in the Continent of Asia, but in world affairs and the United Nations. Ghana, small on the map and in population, is taking the lead in linking the independent Governments of Africa as a self-reliant group, and the influence of her new status among the peoples of the Continent is dynamic. When she is joined by independent Nigeria, the creative factor in

African development will have passed from Europe to Africa itself.

South Africa's membership of the Commonwealth is an anachronism. I have not been among those who have urged the expulsion of the Union Government on the ground of apartheid, because it has seemed a little hypocritical to do this whilst so much racial discrimination and segregation remain in British territories.

We practise racial segregation in Kenya, and the Rhodesias have both segregation and discrimination. I look forward to the day when the Commonwealth will not tolerate any hint of a colour bar among its Member States; but at present Britain has to remove the beam from its own eye.

## SOUTH AFRICA

There is one other South African feature, however, which is incompatible with the human rights which are commonly associated with the Commonwealth. It is the only Member State which is not a democracy.

Except for "emergency" measures in Pakistan, all the other nations are based on the equal citizenship of every man and woman.

In South Africa a minority of Whites monopolise political power, leaving Africans, Asians and those of mixed race politically outlawed and voteless. Surely the day must come when a condition of membership of the Commonwealth should be full political democracy as well as racial equality.

At the London Conference there will be one figure who will not represent an independent State. This will be Sir Roy Welensky, the Prime Minister of the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. Officially he will be an "observer" rather than a representative; but his presence is a warning.

Sir Roy Welensky has recently been negotiating with Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd in London with the object of getting undertakings which will prevent a future Labour Government from carrying out what he described as its "half-baked ideas". These half-baked ideas are based on the view that before the British Parliament hands over the destiny of any people to a Colonial Government, full democracy should be established.

In Central Africa 6,000,000 Africans have six representatives in the Federal Parliament, 200,000 Whites have 25 representatives! The colour bar is practised in Southern Rhodesia almost as rigidly as in South Africa, and to a large degree in Northern Rhodesia. Nyasaland, which rightly regards itself as an emerging African State, wishes to leave the Federation.

On what grounds, then, constitutional, democratic, libertarian or equalitarian, can Sir Roy Welensky be regarded as a proper person to be present at the Commonwealth Conference? He is a repudiation of all the human values which we so often claim to be characteristic of the Commonwealth.

Like most human institutions, the Commonwealth is shaping itself as it grows. There is value in it, economically and potentially, as a balancing group in the world between the USA and the USSR. But its main value should lie in its inter-racial and democratic character, and this is gravely compromised by the association of Central Africa and South Africa with the Commonwealth, and by practices still maintained in some parts of the British Empire.

It may be that this association will lead to a modification of the race domination which now exists; but none of us can take unqualified pride in the Commonwealth until every trace of discrimination and subjection of one race by another have passed from it.

**Persecuted minorities**

**A**s usual Sybil Morrison was dead right in her logically unanswerable argument against fighting to help persecuted minorities (Root of the Evil, PN, May 3) showing that the lot of such minorities is worsened, not bettered, by such intervention, the state of the Jews in the last war being a case in point, gas chambers being substituted for the comparatively mild persecution in peace-time.

Could not the article be reprinted in pamphlet form for the benefit of young people going before Tribunals where they are so often met with this question?

To bring the argument nearer home, let us suppose that Russia "occupied" England. The USA in their present mood would immediately argue that they "couldn't stand by" and see their allies over-run by Communism, and would proceed to get the Communists out by means of nuclear weapons that would do infinitely more harm to Britain and the British than if the "natives" were left to their own resources to deal with the enemy.

If our love of and belief in spiritual values is sincere they will persist whatever government is in power, as they obviously have persisted in the satellite countries. Only by their persistency can we conquer materialism, whether it is called Communism, scientific socialism or Fascism.

## Zealots of secrecy degraded America

**Dr. JAMES TOPPING (Chairman, Quaker Scientists Association) reviews**

The Torment of Secrecy, by Edward Shils, Heinemann, London, 15s. net, and Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, USA.

THOSE who have observed the American scene since the war, and pondered with growing apprehension the tribulations of intellectuals like Dr. Oppenheimer and Professor Lattimore, must feel somewhat reassured not only by the temper of this book but that it has been written by an American seriously concerned about his country's "humiliating and unjustifiable lapse from decent conduct."

Professor Shils tells us that he embarked upon this book as a broadside against

Senator McCarthy and his supporters, but we must be glad that he decided to mould it into something more than a polemic, for as now published it is a scholarly and wise essay in sociological analysis and political philosophy.

It should help many in this country, and in the USA, to understand better some of the political happenings of the past decade. The author pleads that "McCarthyism and the continuing activities of the Un-American Activities Committee must be seen as a dying fire, momentarily revived to a high blaze by a strong wind, as a futile rearguard struggle of the proponents of a tradition in the course of its extinction . . ."

He examines the balance of publicity and secrecy in a democratic society and the forces making for disequilibrium, which leads to an interesting contrast between the traditions of Britain and the newer political growths in the United States.

The middle portion of the book is devoted to "the background of excess" and discusses, amongst other matters, American post-war relations with the Soviet Union, the secrecy associated with the manufacture of atomic bombs, and the development of hyper-patriotism, xenophobia and populism in the USA. It is perhaps rather a tame conclusion to all this analysis that "most of the difficulties that have arisen in recent years carry to excess qualities which in themselves are good and desirable."

But Professor Shils carries his considerations further. He writes finely on the responsibilities and loyalties of individuals if a free society is to flourish, on the autonomy of science and the danger of the loyalty-security system, and on the need for nurturing a better sense of affinity between groups in American public life.

Has the tremendous disturbance and degradation which America has suffered from its own zealots of secrecy and loyalty been worth while? Are the secrets we have sought to guard so essential to our national life that it has been worthwhile raising so much passion, injuring so many persons and harming so many institutions? Undoubtedly, the answer is: No."

## Letters to the Editor

Incidentally, would it not be a wise move for pacifists in the present state of world-tension to collect signatures to an appeal to the US *not* to attempt Britain's "liberation" by violent means if she ever does come to be "occupied"? Many of us have keen memories from the last war of what such liberation involves.—**ESME WYNNETYSON, Clarwyn, East Beach, Selsey, Sussex.**

**Words into practice**

I AM a nursing auxiliary in a hospital for the chronic sick. I help to care for 15 men, grappling against the problems brought by the decay of their minds and bodies and by their absence from their families and home. With one or two doubtful exceptions they will be there until they die.

The men I work with are efficient, often kind, sometimes a little cruel. Materially, the patients are well cared for but they often need something more, the understanding friendship and aid of a man, Christian or merely humanitarian, who loves his fellow men.

His deep fellow-feeling can solve both simple and complicated problems. It can dispel the shame of an incontinent patient at always wetting his bed or it can alleviate the troubles of a surly, ungrateful, half-mental patient, disliked by the staff and

consequently sometimes badly treated.

If there be any readers who like myself objected to military service, and are at the moment wondering how to spend two years alternative service, may I ask them to consider this work. A chronic ward is the proving ground for those who say "I love my neighbour."

They must not mind cleaning away excrement and urine and they must not easily lose heart. If they stick it, they may find that this is one of the less glamourous but one of the most valuable jobs that a CO can do for his personal development and for the good of other people.

There is a need. Let those who should be most suited to the job get on with it.—**T. OSBORNE, 72 The Street, Ingworth, Norwich.**

**Mightier than the sword**

THE pen is mightier than the sword, it is said. But whereas the sword is usually wielded in the mass, the pen is mostly used spasmodically.

Opportunities are occurring with such frequency that the pacifist movement is being presented with glorious opportunities for self-expression, but all seem to be passing us by.

The Suez venture, bomb tests, end of conscription, all within a short time.

I would like to see the pacifist movement(s) organised for a mass pen-assault in whatever direction is most likely to have the greatest impact in connection with any given opportunity.

I would suggest that all Branches institute a list of members who are willing and able to guarantee to write one letter at short notice, expressing the pacifist viewpoint on the topical subject which presents the opportunity; such movement to be brought into action by one responsible official at Headquarters, who would indicate to the local leader the subject to be commented on, together with the address for the letters to be directed to, and with note of a specially selected day for the letters to be received.

## MUD ON THE SCAFFOLD

**Leslie Hale M.P. reviews**

The Accusing Ghost or Justice For Casement, by Alfred Noyes, Victor Gollancz Ltd., 15s.

A SENSATIONAL recent case has raised the whole question of the anomalous position of an Attorney-General in prosecutions for the Crown.

When Sir Roger Casement was tried for High Treason the Attorney-General was F. E. Smith, formerly "Galloper Smith" of the Ulster Army and himself deeply

## BOOKS

involved in treason. He advised on the prosecution, conducted it, refused the accused a fiat to enable an appeal to be made to the Lords, helped to disseminate the information that the accused was a sexual pervert, secured the accused's execution by threatening to resign from the Cabinet, and then wrote an account of the case for money!

Sir Roger was respected throughout the world for his able and courageous exposures of the terrible atrocities perpetrated in Leopold's Belgian Congo and later in the Putumayo. His work had been honoured by the King and extolled from the pulpit of Westminster Abbey. But he was first and foremost an Irishman and in 1916 landed in Ireland to raise the flag of revolt.

He was betrayed, captured, tried, sentenced to death and hanged, making no attempt to deny the facts but raising in a noble speech the question of an Irishman's allegiance. There was widespread public sympathy.

Copies were then circulated of what purported to be a diary kept by Casement and which disclosed him to be a sexual

pervert. The vile document was shewn to the King, to President Wilson, to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to the distinguished poet Alfred Noyes.

None, then, doubted its authenticity. None knew that Casement had never admitted it or even been shown it. Since then the question has been widely canvassed.

W. B. Yeats urged Mr. Noyes to "speak your bit in public that some amends be made" and, though his part in the matter was quite blameless, Mr. Noyes, a septuagenarian, has accepted the challenge and discharged his task with remarkable energy and admirable lucidity. The book, indeed, combines the virtues of a well argued brief and a thrilling "who dun it," and I commended it as fascinating reading for all.

Whether the diaries or diary (variously described as from "a few pages" to about eight volumes) wherever discovered (Smith said in Ireland, Sir Basil Thomson in London) or whenever discovered (Thomson said during Casement's interrogation but later it was said to be over a year before) are genuine or not is a matter of deep importance to Sir Roger's kin and friends.

But, genuine or not, the conduct of the authorities was infamous. We are entitled to know the truth. Noyes once wrote:

"We're sick of all the cringing knees, The courtly smiles and lies!"

God, let thy singing Channed breeze Lighten our hearts and eyes!"

Mr. Butler has started well in the Home Office and can afford to let a wholesome breeze blow away the cant and the hypocrisy of the declaration that "they do not want to blacken the memory of a dead man." Sir Roger's reputation is no longer in public issue. His place is with the immortals.

If he had faults his case has passed beyond earthly tribunal but the memory of his noble work for the suffering remains. The reputation of the Home Office is, however, still deeply involved.

(Letters from different parts would need to be posted at different times.)

Thus we should have the whole weight of the active membership thrown into (I was going to write "battle") action at one time, on one subject. Instead of dissipating our energies, we should be concentrating them, and perhaps then the opening quotation might be nearer the truth.

Perhaps the receipt by someone of, say, 5,000 letters in one day might make some impression. Were it 10, 15 or 20,000 so much the better. There is no limit, under 50,000,000!

There's an opportunity here right now—any newspaper not publishing Dr. Schweitzer's appeal (PN, April 26) should be our target. All together boys.—**DON L. PHILLIPS, "Pensilva," 69 Audley Ave., Torquay.**

**Martin Luther King**

I SHOULD like to nominate Martin Luther King for the Nobel Peace Prize. He has influenced people all over the world in the ways of peace, proving that there is a way of winning without fighting and revenge.

Such an honour would be a great and stimulating gift for a people who have given the world such a fine example of forbearance under persecution.—**ROSE L. CAMPBELL, 1419-B 5th Avenue, San Francisco, 22, USA.**

**"Pacific Peacemaker"**

REGARDING those who wish to go to the Pacific Area to halt the British nuclear tests. I would like to suggest that to obviate the red-tape of Japanese visas and other hitches, a special Sunderland flying-boat (a number were recently sold as being obsolete by the RAF) be chartered from here. I personally would be willing to serve on board as a steward.

The flying-boat with long banners trailing behind could well be called "Pacific Peacemaker."—**GEORGE M. GREGORY, Clovelly Camp, Box Hill Rd., Nr. Tadworth, Surrey.**



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# DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. . . . m.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Saturday, May 18

**EXETER**: 2.45 p.m. Poster Parade against H-bomb tests. Starting from Friends Meeting House, Margadale St. Friends, Exeter Peace Movement members and others.

Sunday, May 19

**LONDON, W.2**: Hyde Park, 6 p.m. Open-air Meeting, Sybil Morrison, and speakers from Pacifist Youth Action Group.

**WINCHMORE HILL**: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Church Hill, N.13. Edgar Dunstan, "The Faith and Practice of a Quaker." Enquirers meetings. All welcome.

**DERBY**: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., St. Helen's St. Rev. Bassil Jackson (of Ceylon), "Asia Looks at the West." SoF.

Monday, May 20

**CARDIFF**, Friends Ho., 43 Charles St. Monday, May 20, at 7.30 p.m. "Public Concern at the H-bomb Tests—What can we do about it?" Speakers: Rev. R. D. Thomas, of Merthyr, and A Member of the Society of Friends. The Society of Friends and Cardiff Pacifist Group.

**UPMINSTER**: 8 p.m. Windmill Hall, public mt. "Atoms for Peace or War?" D. G. Arnott, Clr. J. W. Bush (Conservative), Donald Paterson (Liberal), Jo Richardson (Labour). Hornechurch and Dist. Way to Peace Group, 52 Fleet Ave., Upminster.

Tuesday, May 21

**RICHMOND PPU GROUP**: 8 p.m. Vernon Hall, Vernon Rd., E. Sheen. "Labour's Foreign Policy." Charles Archibald (Prospective Labour Candidate). Members and friends.

Thursday, May 23

**BERMONSEY**: 7.30 p.m.; Libraries Hall. Sybil Morrison, speakers from the Independent Labour Party and Movement for Colonial Freedom. "Any Questions?" Chairman, Bob Streetley, PPU.

**HAMPSTEAD**: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, 120 Heath Street, N.W.3 (upstairs in library). Stuart Morris, Secretary, PPU. "What Kind of Force Should the United Nations Have?" PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.2**: 7.15 p.m. Kingsway Hall. "The Only Way to Peace?" Speakers include Frank Allaun, MP, Rep. Moss, MP, and Victor Yates, MP. Tickets, 1s. each, from Denis Brian, 24a Breakspears Rd., London, S.E.4. Labour Peace Fellowship.

**LONDON, W.C.1**: 7.30 p.m. Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. A speaker from Christian Action. PYAG.

**SWANSEA**: 7.30 p.m. Palace Theatre. "Children of Hiroshima" and "Shadow of Hiroshima."

Saturday, May 25

**BRISTOL**: 10 a.m., 3 p.m. and in the evening. Stop the H-bomb tests precessions to publicise the May 30 Mass Meeting. Details from Bill Parkin, 15 Kenmare Cres., Bristol, 7. PPU.

**MAIDSTONE**: 3.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Wheeler St. PPU Area Meeting (South-Eastern). Speaker: Stuart Morris. Contact members specially asked to attend.

**MAIDSTONE**: 7 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Wheeler St. Brains Trust—Peace of War. Question Master: Otto L. Shaw, JP, PhD, BSc. Panel: Rev. Geo. E. Neely, Stuart Morris, MA, Hilda Von Klenze, Philip Millwood. PPU.

Sunday, May 26

**NEWINGTON, KENT**: Orchard, Ancient Parish Church. 3 p.m. Open-air Service. Discourse, Rev. Will Hayes, "Festivals." If wet, Church of the Great Companions, Hammond Hill, Chatham. Coach party leaving Victoria 10 a.m. Particulars from Gladys Gellett, 42 Minet Ave., N.W.10. PPU Religion Commission.

Tuesday, May 28

**LONDON, W.C.1**: 7.30 p.m. PPU London Area's monthly meeting. 6 Endsleigh St.

Thursday, May 30

**BRISTOL**: Central Hall—Mass Meeting in protest against H-bomb tests. Speaker, Prof. Coulson and others.

Saturday, June 1

**EPSOM**: 7 p.m. Film, "Shadow of Hiroshima." 7.30 p.m. Speeches by John Loverside, AFC, and C. D. Legon, BA. Questions. Discussion. Proposal of resolution of protest against nuclear warfare and A-bomb tests. 9 p.m. Film, "Shadow of Hiroshima." Myers Hall (behind Ebbisham Hall), Ashley Rd., Epsom and District Peace Fellowship. Secretary: Ailsa Duncan, 55 Culverhay, Ashtead, Surrey.

**LONDON, W.C.1**: 3 p.m.—5.30 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Square, "The Work of Unesco and the Teaching of History." W. E. Payne, M.A., Tea 4 p.m. 6d. Education Commission. PPU. Sec., Jane Burgess, 9 West Street, Hertford, Herts.

Wednesday, June 5

**BRISTOL**: 7 p.m. Hermes (UPW) Room, 26 Broad St., 1-Economic consequences of Unilateral Disarmament—Prof. H. D. Dickinson. Discussion. PPU.

## Every week!

### SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

**LONDON**: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

**MONDAYS**

**SHIPLEY**: 7.15 p.m. Shipley Group in new premises in Labour Party Rooms, Westgate, Shipley.

**TUESDAYS**

**MANCHESTER**: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

**WEDNESDAYS**

**KIDBROOK**: 8 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Talks, plays, discussion, music, radio, etc. Fellowship Party.

**THURSDAYS**

**LEYTONSTONE**: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road, E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1**: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. PYAG.

**LONDON, W.C.1**: 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

## FACTORS UNDERLYING THE

# Disarmament quibbles

By ROY SHERWOOD

THE first difficulty in trying to clear one's mind about the rights and wrongs of all the disarmament proposals, refusals, counter-proposals and sub-committee negotiations is to know where to begin. Even the preliminary question whether nuclear weapons should be dealt with separately from conventional arms and forces divides public opinion, or as much of it as gives serious thought to such things, into two camps.

In that respect at least, the pacifist's position is simpler. Standing for complete disarmament, he is not much interested in dividing the one kind of armament material from the other. He rejects local wars and the kind of enterprise for which our age has invented the euphonious name of police action as resolutely as he rejects global war, and in doing so has commonsense on his side.

For there is something almost unbelievably silly in the complacent assumption that there is any reasonable prospect of a local war or a police action not ending up by setting the whole world afame, as long as the fundamental enmity between Russia and the West remains unsolved.

Even non-pacifists would do well to admit this first point. If you limit disarmament to conventional weapons and numerical reductions in the armed forces, you are left with all the possibilities of world destruction by means of long distance nuclear missiles deliverable by men who need not even be called soldiers; and if you limit it to nuclear weapons but leave in existence the means of local wars and police actions, you are putting an at least implied premium on a certain form of dishonesty because normal military caution will operate on both sides towards the preservation of the quickest possible means to restore facilities for again producing the "ultimate deterrent".

### BAN

This will then be used, in the first place, only as a threat, but may also be let off without any warning at a moment of high tension in genuine fear that the other side will do so first.

That, incidentally, is another reason in addition to the well known ones for putting a stop to the experimental explosions of nuclear devices. Each one of them amounts to an advance in the knowledge which is liable and likely to bring the day of the release of hydrogen bombs in earnest nearer.

After what we have seen of total warfare in the past, it would need the innocence of an angel to trust a hard-pressed great power belligerent to respect any ban on nuclear weapons.

The only thing to govern military thought in such conditions is the enemy's power of retaliation—which brings us to the latest developments in the various disarmament proposals.

The gap between the Russian and Western proposals is not as wide as it was, but neither side has yet advanced beyond a point at which the new *status quo* would leave it with certain easily recognised advantages over the other.

For what little it is worth, I may give it here as my personal opinion that a global war, if it breaks out, is far less likely to be launched by the Soviets than by the West.

### HUNGARY

For this, there are two simple reasons.

The first is that the West's powers of retaliation are for many years to come likely to be far greater than those of Russia; the second, that the Soviets have no conceivable reason for a military war as long as their progress in ideological warfare against the West continues.

The Communist parties in Western countries have lost thousands of members and possibly sympathisers under the effects of the horrible repression in Hungary, but nothing of the kind has occurred in the "uncommitted" countries.

There, less has been made of Hungary than of Cyprus and of the Franco-British invasion of Egypt, followed by the new "imperialism" of the Eisenhower Doctrine. On the contrary, more and more people

May 17, 1957—PEACE NEWS—9

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Whilst the policy of Peace News is not to restrict any concern or individual from advertising in these columns, it must be noted that we do not necessarily share the views nor the opinions of all our advertisers.

### MEETINGS

**FRIENDS INTERNATIONAL CENTRE**, Sunday, May 19, 32 Tavistock Sq., London, W.C.1. "Redeemers versus Militarism," Antony Bates. For information apply A. J. F. Bates, Flat 5, Lauriston Ho., Bickley Park Rd., Bickley, Kent.

**LONDON NATURAL HEALTH SOCIETY**, Caxton Hall, Monday, May 20, at 7.30 p.m. "Why Die of Heart Disease?" Albert Rumfitt, MBNA.

**S. PLACE ETHICAL SOC.** Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq., W.C.1, Sunday, May 19, 11 a.m. Archibald Robinson, MA, "Not God but Man." Adm. free. Free copy of Monthly Record on request.

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### SITUATIONS VACANT

**PEACE NEWS OFFICE IS OPEN** up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed. (Mon. to Fri. 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish and Cook, statinners), Finsbury Park (near sta.), N.4.

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## THE PUBLIC CAN STOP H-TESTS

□ FROM PAGE ONE

"Car and van owners can use the special 'Stop H-bomb Tests!' labels. They are 4s. per dozen. There are smaller ones for envelopes at 1s. per two dozen, double crown posters are also available."

Nobody is too old to help. One old-age pensioner recently sent 5s. saying that she had fasted all day to provide it. Though radiation would mostly affect the younger generation, she, like many others, felt the responsibility toward them.

Nobody is too young. In the march on Sunday, ten teenage girls from the North London Collegiate took part. There were some children even younger. Letters and enquiries pour in from Universities and schools.

Money is sometimes sent with the many enquiries which reach the offices of the NCANWT. Letters are reaching the 50-a-day level at present, but a few weeks ago they ran into hundreds, and, following publicity in national papers, the NCANWT were dealing with thousands.

Much of the mail comes from middle class people, from professional men and women, and from anxious mothers.

Sixty thousand leaflets have been distributed. A folder, "The Tests can be stopped" has had to be reprinted four times already. It sells at 8s. 6d. per 100.

### Common ground

The Council is sponsored by E. M. Forster, OM, Earl Russell, OM, FRS, Dr. Donald Soper, and Professor Barbara Wootton. It is an independent organisation, which has the support of the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends (Quakers), some Members of Parliament, scientists and religious and lay organisations.

On the Committee are four Quakers, Arthur Goss, the Chairman; Stanley Birchby; Peggy Darvell; and Rex Phillips.

The Secretary, Sheila Jones, is a member of the Labour Party.

As a physicist on research in Oxford from 1942-46 she worked on the British project for the atom bomb.

During the war, all scientists went into radar or on to scientific research, unless they were conscientious objectors. Because Germany was well ahead of Britain with the research on the bomb, and because it was felt that Hitler would use it indiscriminately if Germany was the first to perfect it, the scientists felt justified in continuing their work.

"When the Americans dropped the bomb, most of the scientists in this country were horrified. They had not been consulted," Sheila Jones told me.

Is Sheila Jones a pacifist? She says "No." Yet like many other non-pacifists who want the tests stopped, she meets pacifists on a common ground—that of humanitarianism.

### DOES BRITAIN NEED HER ARMED FORCES?

Now, when people like Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall are asking for a close examination of non-violent resistance as an alternative to military defence, is the time to be distributing more copies of Peace News.

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By Sybil Morrison

## MONSTROUS THING

President Eisenhower and Field Marshal Montgomery twice refought the battle of Gettysburg in words and on the spot during the week-end... Lord Montgomery has maintained that the generals on both sides were at fault... he would have sacked Lee for his defeat and Meade for committing a series of command errors although he managed to win... Lord Montgomery was particularly upset by the celebrated Pickett's charge, that bloody failure ordered by Lee during the battle: "A monstrous thing to launch this charge" he said as he stood near the statue of Lee. "Monstrous thing, absolutely monstrous."

—Daily Telegraph, May 13, 1957.

THERE are occasions when I deeply envy the ability of satirical writers, and discovering this account of the manner in which two great military figures amuse themselves, is one of those occasions. It would seem that only biting satire could do justice to the tale; without it I can only try to point the moral in a more mundane way.

The American Civil War, Abraham Lincoln's part in it, the famous Gettysburg Battle and the still more famous Gettysburg Speech, have been dramatised out of all proportion to the bitter reality of that struggle.

This was a war in which brothers were on opposite sides fighting against each other; in which relatives and dear friends were engaged in wounding and killing each other; in which husbands and lovers were responsible for slaughtering the fathers and brothers of their wives and sweethearts.

Eisenhower and Montgomery are, however, not concerned with such trivial matters of the human heart and spirit; they are concerned merely to re-live and re-trace the military aspects of the Battle of Gettysburg; to discuss together whether this or that General merited "the sack," or whether this or that order was a good one, or a "monstrous" one.

If "Pickett's Charge" had been successful it seems highly unlikely that, in spite of the massacre, it would have been designated by military experts as "monstrous."

Some may think that the order to storm the Dardanelles, and to land troops on the exposed and impregnable beaches of Gallipoli in the First World War was monstrous, but it is doubtful if it would have been so described had it been successful.

There are some, though it would seem only a few, who think that the atom bomb

Harold Steele \* FROM PAGE ONE

during your stay in Japan you will not participate in any actions which may expose human life to danger."

Mr. Steele replied on May 1 regretting the condition but accepting it. He expressed the "earnest plea" that the Japanese authorities would release him from it.

This condition is considerably milder than the condition it had been reported the Japanese authorities would require. The Press had stated that they would grant the visa only if Mr. Steele agreed not to leave Japan to actually enter the H-test area. The present condition makes no mention of such a requirement.

At Peace News office after receiving his visa, he said he had received many letters of support "from ordinary folk. They are just wanting to live quietly," he said.

"Mine is a sort of personal protest of my own attitude. I want to make a most emphatic protest... a dramatised appeal for people to look at," he continued. "I am tired of protest meetings and petitions. The Governments take very little notice of them."

A few days later, single-minded in his determination to rouse the world's conscience by entering the H-test area, he left London for New Delhi on the first stage of his pilgrimage to the Pacific.

See also page seven

Mrs. Pandit and Bertrand (Earl) Russell will appear in the BBC Television Brains Trust on Sunday, May 19. On Tuesday, May 28 "Report from America" will deal with the colour bar and introduce James A. Crumlin, Louisville, Attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People.

## A spokesman of dangerous individuals

● FROM PAGE ONE

objectivity of the information he gives will now be lacking and the Government, far from finding a powerful advocate for its nuclear policy is more likely to have been landed with an embarrassment.

ALSO replying to Lord Cherwell, Alexander Haddow, Director of the Chester Beatty Research Institute, Institute of Cancer Research, Royal Cancer Hospital, London, wrote in a letter to The Times, May 13:

"On the basis of the worst assumptions, the total of all nuclear tests to date could be responsible for some thousands of cases of leukaemia, and of bone cancer, in the world population over a period of 20 years. At its maximum, the yield would probably be a minute fraction of the natural incidence of these diseases."

"In his contribution to the debate on defence policy of May 8, Lord Cherwell claims that 'even if the tests did add to some tiny extent to the number of people who suffer from bone cancer... this would be a small price to pay for developing a really effective deterrent which would prevent war.'

"There are, however, many (not all of them fellow-travellers), who are somehow repelled by this argument, and who decline to accept it as the only choice before us. Lord Cherwell has logic, but let us beware where his logic could lead us."

### Peace Pledge Union Elections

Ballot Papers for the elections of National Chairman and nine members of National Council are being sent by post to all annual subscribers and other signatories on the live file. If you do not receive a ballot paper by May 22 please apply to the General Secretary, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.I.

### SYBIL MORRISON

in

### HYDE PARK

Sunday, May 19, 6 p.m.

Supported by  
Pacifist Youth Action Group

### Public Protest Meeting

## STOP THE H-BOMB TESTS

to be addressed by

**REV. D. R. THOMAS**

and others

Monday, May 20 at 7.30 p.m.  
Friends House, 43 Charles Street,  
CARDIFF.

Society of Friends, Cardiff Pacifist Group

### East Ham North By-Election

for PEACE, DISARMAMENT and SOCIALISM  
COME AND WORK FOR

## BILL CHRISTOPHER

the Independent Labour Party Candidate

opposing H-bomb manufacture, for disarmament by example and peace through socialism in a Socialist Britain.

### COMMITTEE ROOMS :

St. Barnabas Lower Institute, Roseberry Avenue, E.12 (nr. East Ham Station)  
Canvassers, leaflet distributors, committee room workers, etc., wanted from now up to May 30. Weekdays 1.30-9 p.m. Sundays 1.30-6 p.m.

Published by ERIC FENNER, Election Agent, from the above address